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MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE U. STATES,

TRANSMITTING

COPIES OF CERTAIN DOCUMENTS OBTAINED

FROM

A SECRET AGENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT,

EMPLOYED

IN FOMENTING DISAFFECTION TO THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES,

AND

IN BRINGING ABOUT RESISTANCE TO THE LAWS;

AND

EVENTUALLY, IN CONCERT

WITH

A BRITISH FORCE, TO DESTROY THE UNION

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

MARCH 9th, 1812.

Printed by order of the Senate of the United States.

WASHINGTON CITY:

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1812.

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May 1913

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MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

I LAY before Congress copies of certain documents which remain in the Department of State. They prove that, at a recent period, whilst the United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, ceased not to observe the laws of peace and neutrality towards Great Britain, and in the midst of amicable professions and negotiations on the part of the British government, through its public minister here, a secret agent of that government was employed in certain states, more especially at the seat of government in Massachusetts, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and in intrigues with the disaffected, for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and, eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain.

In addition to the effect which the discovery of such a procedure ought to have on the public councils, it will not fail to render more dear to the hearts of all good citizens, that happy union of these states, which, under Divine Providence, is the guaranty of their liberties, their safety, their tranquillity, and their prosperity.

JAMES MADISON.

March 9th, 1812.

DOCUMENTS.

A.

[COPY.]

Philadelphia, February 20th, 1812.

SIR,

MUCH observation and experience have convinced me, that the injuries and insults with which the United States have been so long and so frequently visited, and which cause their present embarrassment, have been owing to an opinion entertained by foreign states,—"*That in any measure tending to wound their pride, or provoke their hostility, the government of this country could never induce a great majority of its citizens to concur.*" And, as many of the evils which flow from the influence of this opinion on the policy of foreign nations, may be removed by any act that can produce UNANIMITY AMONG ALL PARTIES IN AMERICA, I voluntarily tender to you, sir, such means as I possess towards promoting so desirable and important an object; which, if accomplished, cannot fail to extinguish, perhaps forever, those expectations abroad, which may protract indefinitely, an accommodation of existing differences, and check the progress of industry and prosperity in this rising empire.

I have the honor to transmit herewith the documents and correspondence relating to an important mission, in which I was employed by Sir James Craig, the late Governor General of the British provinces in North America, in the winter of the year 1809

The publication of these papers will demonstrate a fact not less valuable than the good already proposed; it will prove that no reliance ought to be placed on the professions of good faith of an administration, which, by a series of disastrous events, has *fallen* into such hands as a Castlereagh, a Wellesley or a Liverpool—I should rather say, into the hands of the stupid subalterns, to whom the pleasures, and the indolence of those ministers, have consigned it. In contributing to the good of the United States by an exposition, which cannot (I think) fail to solve and melt all division and disunion among its citizens; I flatter myself with the fond expectation, that when it is made public in England, it will add one great motive to the many that already exist, to induce that nation to withdraw its confidence from MEN, WHOSE POLITICAL CAREER IS A FRUITFUL SOURCE OF INJURY AND EMBARRASSMENT IN AMERICA; OF INJUSTICE AND MISERY IN IRELAND; OF DISTRESS AND APPREHENSION IN ENGLAND; AND CONTEMPT EVERY WHERE.

In making this communication to you, Sir, I deem it incumbent on me, distinctly and unequivocally to state, that I adopt no party views; that I have not changed any of my political opinions; that I neither seek nor desire the patronage, nor countenance of any government, nor of any party; and, that, in addition to the motives already expressed, I AM INFLUENCED BY A JUST RESENTMENT OF THE PERFIDY AND DISHONOR OF THOSE WHO FIRST VIOLATED THE CONDITIONS UPON WHICH I RECEIVED THEIR CONFIDENCE; who have injured me, and disappointed the expectations of my friends; and left me no choice, but between a degrading acquiescence in injustice, and a retaliation, which is necessary to secure to me my own respect.

This wound will be felt where it is merited; and if SIR JAMES CRAIG still live, his share of the pain

will excite no sympathy among those who are at all in the secret of our connection.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, your obedient servant, &c. &c.
(Signed) J. HENRY.

To James Monroe, Esq.
Secretary of State.

No. I.

[COPY.]

Mr. Ryland, Secretary to Sir James Craig, Governor General of Canada, to Mr. Henry.

Most secret and confidential.

Quebec, 26th January, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE extraordinary situation of things at this time in the neighboring states, has suggested to the Governor in Chief, the idea of employing you on a secret and confidential mission to Boston, provided an arrangement can be made to meet the important end in view, without throwing an absolute obstacle in the way of your professional pursuits. *The information and political observations heretofore received from you, were transmitted by his Excellency to the Secretary of State, who has expressed his particular approbation of them; and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested, would give you claim, not only on the Governor General, but on his Majesty's ministers,* which might eventually contribute to your advantage. You will have the

goodness therefore to acquaint me, for his Excellency's information, whether you could make it convenient to engage in a mission of this nature, and what pecuniary assistance would be requisite to enable you to undertake it without injury to yourself.

At present it is only necessary for me to add, that the Governor would furnish you with a cypher for carrying on your correspondence; and that in case the leading party in any of the states wished to open a communication with this government, their views might be communicated through you.

I am with great truth and regard,
My dear Sir,
Your most faithful, humble servant,
(Signed) HERMAN W. RYLAND.

No. II.

[COPY.]

Sir James Craig, Governor General of Canada, to Mr. Henry.

Most secret and confidential.

Quebec, 6th February, 1809.

SIR,

AS you have so readily undertaken the service, which I have suggested to you, as being likely to be attended with much benefit to the public interests, I am to request that with your earliest convenience, you will proceed to Boston.

The principal object that I recommend to your attention, is the endeavor to obtain the most accurate information of the true state of affairs in that

part of the Union, which from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will indeed probably lead the other eastern states of America in the part that they may take at this important crisis.

I shall not pretend to point out to you the mode by which you will be most likely to obtain this important information; your own judgment and the connections which you may have in the town, must be your guide. I think it however necessary to put you on your guard against the sanguineness of an aspiring party; the federalists as I understand, have at all times discovered a leaning to this disposition, and their being under its particular influence at this moment, is the more to be expected from their having no ill founded ground for their hopes of being *nearer the attainment of their object* than they have been for some years past.

In the general terms which I have made use of in describing the object which I recommend to your attention, it is scarcely necessary that I should observe, I include the state of the public opinions, both with regard to their internal politics, and to the probability of a war with England; the comparative strength of the two great parties into which the country is divided, and the views and designs of that which may ultimately prevail.

If has been supposed that if the federalists of the eastern states should be successful in obtaining that decided influence, which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general union. The earliest information on this subject may be of great conse-

quence to our government, as it may also be, that it should be informed, *how far in such an event they would look up to England for assistance or be disposed to enter into a connection with us.*

Although it would be highly inexpedient that you should in any manner appear as an avowed agent, yet if you could contrive to obtain an intimacy with any of the leading party, it may not be improper that you should insinuate, though with great caution, that *if they should wish to enter into any communication with our government through me, you are authorised to receive any such, and will safely transmit it to me;* and as it may not be impossible that they should require some document by which they may be assured that you are really in the situation in which you represent yourself, I enclose a credential to be produced in that view; but I most particularly enjoin and direct that you do not make any use of this paper, unless a desire to that purpose should be expressed, and *unless you see good ground for expecting that the doing so may lead to a more confidential communication* than you can otherwise look for.

In passing through the state of Vermont, you will of course exert your endeavors to procure all the information that the short stay you will probably make there will admit of. You will use your own discretion as to delaying your journey, with this view, more or less in proportion to your prospects of obtaining any information of consequence.

I request to hear from you as frequently as possible; and as letters directed to me might excite suspicion, it may be as well, that you put them under cover to Mr. ————————, and as even the addressing letters always to the same person might attract notice, I recommend your sometimes addressing your packet to the chief justice here, or

occasionally, though seldom, to Mr. Ryland, but never with the addition of his official description.

I am Sir,

Your most obt. humble servt.

(Signed) J. H. CRAIG.

No. III.

Copy of the "Credential" given by Sir James Craig to Mr. Henry.

[Seal.]

THE bearer, Mr. John Henry, is employed by me, and full confidence may be placed in him for any communication which any person may wish to make to me, *in the business committed to him.* In faith of which, I have given him this under my hand and seal at Quebec, this 6th day of February, 1809.

(Signed) J. H. CRAIG.

No. IV.

Copies of the Letters from Mr. Henry to Sir James Craig, relating to his mission to the United States, in the year 1809.

No 1.

Answer to the letter of Mr. Secretary Ryland, proposing the mission, &c.

Montreal, Jan. 31, 1809.

SIR,

I HAVE to acknowledge the favor of your letter, of the 26th inst. written by the desire of his

Excellency, the Governor in Chief; and hasten to express through you to his Excellency, my readiness to comply with his wishes.

I need not add how very flattering it is to receive from his Excellency, the assurance of the approbation of his Majesty's Secretary of State, for the very humble services that I may have rendered.

If the nature of the service in which I am to be engaged, will require no other disbursements than for my individual expenses, I do not apprehend that these can exceed my private resources.

I shall be ready to take my departure before my instructions can be made out.

I have the honor to be,
Your most obedient servant,

J. H.

No. 2.

To his Excellency the Governor General, &c. in answer to his letter of instructions, &c. &c.

Montreal, Feb. 10, 1809.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of instructions, the letter of credence, and the cypher for carrying on my correspondence. I have bestowed much pains upon the cypher, and am, notwithstanding this, deficient in some point, which might enable me to understand it clearly. I have compared the example with my own exemplification of the cypher, and find a difference in the results; and as the present moment seems favorable to the interference of his Majesty's government, in the measures pursued by the federal party in the northern states, and more especially as the assembly of Massachu-

setts is now in session, I think it better to set forward immediately, than wait for any farther explanation of the means of carrying on a secret correspondence, which the frequency of safe private conveyances to Canada will render almost wholly unnecessary Should it, however, be necessary at any time, I take leave to suggest that the index alone furnishes a very safe and simple mode. In it, there is a number for every letter in the alphabet, and particular numbers for particular phrases; so that when I do not find in the index the particular word I want, I can spell it with the figures which stand opposite to the letters. For example, if I want to say that "Troops are at Albany," I find under the letter "T," that number 16 stands for "Troops," and number 125 for "Albany." The intervening words "*are at*" I supply by figures corresponding with the letters in these words.

It will be necessary to provide against accident, by addressing the letters to Mr. ——, of Montreal, with a small mark on the corner of the envelope, which he will understand. When he receives it, he will then address the enclosure to your Excellency, and send it from Montreal by mail. I will be careful not to address your Excellency in the body of the letter, nor sign my name to any of them. They will be merely designated by the initials A B.

If this mode should in any respect appear exceptionable, your Excellency will have the goodness to order a more particular explanation of the card. It would reach me in safety enclosed to —— Boston.

I have the honor to be,

With profound respect,

Your Excellency's most ob't. serv't. &c.

J. H.

No. 3.

Burlington, Vermont, Feb. 14, 1809.

SIR,

I HAVE remained here two days, in order fully to ascertain the progress of the arrangements heretofore made, for organizing an efficient opposition to the general government, as well to become acquainted with the opinions of the leading people, relative to the measures of that party which has the ascendant in the national councils.

On the subject of the embargo laws, there seems to be but one opinion: namely, that they are unnecessary, oppressive and unconstitutional. It must also be observed, that the execution of them is so invidious, as to attract towards the officers of government, the enmity of the people; which is, of course, transferable to the government itself; so that, in case the state of Massachusetts should take any bold step towards resisting the execution of these laws, it is highly probable, that it may calculate upon the hearty co-operation of the people of Vermont.

I learn that the Governor of this state is now visiting the towns in the northern section of it; and makes no secret of his determination, as Commander in Chief of the militia, to refuse obedience to any command from the general government, which can tend to interrupt the good understanding that prevails between the citizens of Vermont and his majesty's subjects in Canada It is farther intimated, that in case of a war, he will use his influence to preserve this state *neutral*, and resist, with all the force he can command, any attempt to make it a party. I need not add, that, if these resolutions are carried into effect, the state of Vermont may be considered as an ally of Great Britain.

To what extent the sentiments which prevail in this quarter, exist in the neighboring states, or even

in the eastern section of this state, I am not able to conjecture. I only can say, with certainty, that the leading men of the federal party act in concert; and, therefore infer, that a common sentiment pervades the whole body, throughout New England.

I have seen a letter from a gentleman now at Washington, to his correspondent in this place: and as its contents may serve to throw some light on passing events there, I shall send either the original or a copy with this despatch. The writer of the letter is a man of character and veracity; and whether competent or not to form correct opinions himself, is probably within the reach of all the knowledge that can be obtained by the party to which he belongs.

It appears by his statement that there is a very formidable majority in Congress on the side of the administration; notwithstanding which, there is every reason to hope that the northern states, in their distinct capacity, will unite and resist by force, a war with Great Britain. In what mode this resistance will first shew itself, is probably not yet determined upon; and may, in some measure, depend upon the reliance that the leading men may place upon assurances of support from his Majesty's representative in Canada; and as I shall be on the spot to tender this whenever the moment arrives that it can be done with effect, there is no doubt that all their measures may be made subordinate to the intentions of his Majesty's government. Great pains are taken by the men of talents and intelligence to confirm the fears of the common people, as to the concurrence of the southern democrats in the projects of France; and every thing tends to encourage the belief, that the dissolution of the confederacy will be accelerated by the spirit which now actuates both political parties.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 4.

Windsor, Vermont, Feb. 19, 1809.

SIR,

MY last (No. 3) was written at Burlington, the principal town in the northern part of the state of Vermont. I am now at the principal town in the eastern section.

The fallacy of men's opinions, when they act under the influence of sensibility and are strongly excited by those hopes which always animate a rising party, led me to doubt the correctness of the opinions which I received in the northern section of this state; which, from its contiguity to Canada and necessary intercourse with Montreal, has a stronger interest in promoting a good understanding with his Majesty's government: therefore, since my departure from Burlington, I have sought every favorable occasion of conversing with the democrats on the probable result of the policy adopted by the general government. The difference of opinion is thus expressed:

The federal party declare that, in the event of a war, the state of Vermont will treat separately for itself with Great Britain, and support, to the utmost, the stipulations into which it may enter without any regard to the policy of the general government. The democrats, on the other hand, assert that, in such a case as that contemplated, the people would be nearly divided into equal numbers; one of which would support the government, if it could be done without involving the people in a civil war, but, at all events, would risk every thing in preference to a coalition with Great Britain. This difference of opinion is not to be wholly ascribed to the prejudices of party. The people in the eastern section of Vermont, are not operated upon by the same hopes and fears as those on the

borders of the British colony. They are not dependent on Montreal for the sale of their produce, nor the supply of foreign commodities. They are not apprehensive of any serious dangers or inconvenience from a state of war; and although they admit that the Governor, council and three fourths of the representation in Congress are of the federal party, yet they do not believe that the state would stand alone and resist the national government. They do not, however, deny that should the state of Vermont continue to be represented as it is at present, it would, in all probability, unite with the neighboring states in any serious plan of resistance to a war, which it might seem expedient to adopt. This, I think, is the safer opinion for you to rely on, if, indeed, reliance ought to be placed on any measure depending upon the will of the rabble, which is ever changing and must ever be marked with ignorance, caprice and inconstancy. As the crisis approaches the difficulty of deciding upon an hazardous alternative will increase; and, unfortunately, there is not in Vermont any man of commanding talents, capable of attracting *general confidence*, of infusing into the people his own spirit, and amidst the confusion of conflicting opinions, dangers and commotion, competent to lead in the path of duty or safety. The Governor is an industrious, prudent man, and has more personal influence than any other: but his abilities are not suited to the situation in which a civil war would place him.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 5.

Amherst, N. Hampshire, Feb. 23, 1809.

SIR,

A GENTLEMAN going direct to Canada, affords a safe and favorable opportunity of giving you some further account of my progress.

I will not make use of the post offices when I can avoid it; because private occasions supersede the necessity of writing in cypher, and the contempt of decency and principle, which forms part of the morals of the subaltern officers of a democracy, would incline them to break a seal with the same indifference that they break their words, when either curiosity or interest is to be indulged.

I have not had sufficient time nor evidence to enable me *to form any opinion for myself* of the lengths to which the federal party will carry their opposition to the national government, in the event of a war. Much may be inferred from the result of the elections of governors which, within two months, will be made in the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island From all I know and all I can learn of the general government, I am not apprehensive of an immediate war. The embargo is the favorite measure; and it is probable that other means will be employed to excite England to commit some act of hostility, for the sole purpose of placing the responsibility of war on that country: this I most particularly recommend to the consideration of ministers. The dread of opposition and of the loss of popularity, will certainly keep the ruling party at Washington inactive. They will risk any thing but the loss of power; and they are well aware that their power would pass away with the first calamity which their measures might bring upon the common peo-

ple; (from whom that power emanates) unless, indeed, they could find a sufficient excuse in the conduct of Great Britain. This impression cannot be too deeply felt by his Majesty's ministers; nor too widely spread throughout the British nation. It will furnish a sure guide in every policy that may be adopted towards the United States.

I have the honor to be,

A. B.

No. 6.

Boston, March 5, 1809.

SIR,

I AM favored with another opportunity of writing to you by a private conveyance, and think it probable, at this season, that the frequency of these will render it unnecessary to write to you in cypher.

It does not yet appear necessary that I should discover to any person the purpose of my visit to Boston; nor is it probable that I shall be compelled, for the sake of gaining more knowledge of the arrangements of the federal party in these states, to avow myself as a regular authorised agent of the British government, even to those individuals who would feel equally bound with myself to preserve, with the utmost inscrutability, so important a secret from the public eye. *I have sufficient means of information to enable me to judge of the proper period for offering the co-operation of Great Britain, and opening a correspondence between the Governor General of British America and those individuals who, from the part they take in the opposition to the national government, or the influence they may possess in any new order of things that*

may grow out of the present differences, should be qualified to act on behalf of the northern states. An apprehension of any such state of things as is pre-supposed by these remarks begins to subside, since it has appeared by the conduct of the general government that it is seriously alarmed at the menacing attitude of the northern states. But although it is believed that there is no probability of an immediate war, yet no doubts are entertained that Mr. Madison will fall upon some new expedient to bring about hostilities. What these may be can only be deduced from what appears to be practicable A *non intercourse* with England and France will probably supersede the embargo; which, by opening with the rest of Europe a partial legitimate commerce, and affording strong temptations to that which is illegal, will expose the vessels to capture, detention and embarrassment; will justify the present policy, and produce such a degree of irritation and resentment, as will enable the government of this country to throw the whole blame and responsibility of war from its own shoulders upon those of the British ministry. If in this the party attached to France should calculate with correctness, and the commerce of New England should greatly suffer, the merchants being injured and discouraged, would not only acquiesce in the restrictive system, but even submit to war. On the other hand, should the small traffic permitted by a non-intercourse law be lucrative and uninterrupted, the people would be clamorous for more, and soon compel the government to restore the friendly relations between the two countries.

While I offer my opinion upon this subject, I cannot but express a strong hope, that if any terms should be proposed by either government to which the other might think proper to accede, that a principal motive to the adjustment of differences,

should be understood to arise from the amicable disposition of the eastern states, particularly of the state of Massachusetts. This, as it would increase the popularity of the friends of Great Britain, could not fail to promote her interests. If it could not be done formally and officially nor in a correspondence between ministers, still, perhaps, the administration in the Parliament of Great Britain, might take that ground and the suggestion would find its way into the papers both in England and America.

It cannot be too frequently repeated, that this country can only be governed and directed by the influence of opinion: As there is nothing permanent in its political institutions, nor are the populace under any circumstances to be relied on, when measures become inconvenient and burthensome. I will soon write again;

And am yours, &c

A. B.

No. 7.

In Cypher.

Boston, March 7th, 1809.

SIR,

I HAVE now ascertained with as much accuracy as possible, the course intended to be pursued by the party in Massachusetts that is opposed to the measures and politics of the administration of the general government.

I have already given a decided opinion that a declaration of war is not to be expected: But, contrary to all reasonable calculation, should the Congress possess spirit and independence enough, to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong a measure, the legislature of Massachusetts will

give the tone to the neighboring states; will declare itself permanent, until a new election of members; invite a Congress to be composed of delegates from the federal states, and erect a separate government for their common defence and common interest. This Congress would probably begin by abrogating the offensive laws and adopting a plan for the maintenance of the power and authority thus assumed They would, by such an act, be in a condition to make or receive proposals from Great Britain; and I should seize the first moment to open a correspondence with your Excellency. Scarce any other aid would be necessary, and perhaps none required. than a few vessels of war, from the Halifax station, to protect the maritime towns from the little navy which is at the disposal of the national government What permanent connexion between Great Britain and this section of the republic would grow out of a civil commotion, such as might be expected, no person is prepared to describe; but it seems that a strict alliance must result of necessity. At present, the opposition party confine their calculations merely to resistance; and I can assure you that, at this moment, they do not freely entertain the project of withdrawing the eastern states from the Union, finding it a very unpopular topic; although a course of events, such as I have already mentioned, would inevitably produce an incurable alienation of the New England from the southern states.

The truth is, the common people have so long regarded the constitution of the United States with complacency, that they are now only disposed in this quarter to treat it like a truant mistress, whom they would for a time put away on a separate maintenance, but without further and greater provocation would not absolutely repudiate.

It will soon be known in what situation public affairs are to remain, until the meeting of the

new Congress in May; at which time also this legislature will again assemble. The two months that intervene will be a period of much anxiety.

In all I have written I have been careful not to make any impression, analogous to the enthusiastic confidence, entertained by the opposition, nor to the hopes and expectations that animate the friends of an alliance between the northern states and Great Britain.

I have abstracted myself from all the sympathies these are calculated to inspire: Because, notwithstanding that I feel the utmost confidence in the integrity of intention of the leading characters in this political drama, I cannot forget that they derive their power from a giddy inconstant multitude; who, unless, in the instance under consideration, they form an exception to all general rules and experience, will act inconsistently and absurdly.

I am yours, &c.

A. B.

No 8.

Boston, March 9th, 1809.

SIR,

IN my letter, No. 6, I took the liberty to express my opinion of the probable effect of the non intercourse law, intended to be enacted; and of the mode by which Great Britain may defeat the real intention of the American government in passing it. But as the sort of impunity recommended, might, in its application to every species of commerce that would be carried on, be deemed by Great Britain a greater evil than war itself, a middle course might easily be adopted, which

would deprive France of the benefits resulting from an intercourse with America, without in any great degree irritating the maritime states.

The high price of all American produce in France, furnishes a temptation which mercantile avarice will be unable to resist. The consequence is obvious But if instead of condemning the vessels and cargoes which may be arrested in pursuing this prohibited commerce, they should be compelled to go into a British port, and there permitted to sell them, I think the friends of England in these states would not utter a complaint. Indeed I have no doubt, that if, in the prosecution of a lawful voyage, the British cruizers should treat the American ships in this manner, their owners would in the present state of the European markets, think themselves very fortunate; as it would save them the trouble and expense of landing them in a neutral port, and from thence, re-shipping them to England, now the best market in Europe, for the produce of this country. The government of the United States would probably complain, and Bonaparte become peremptory; but even that would only tend to render the opposition in the northern states more resolute, and accelerate the dissolution of the confederacy. The generosity and justice of Great Britain would be extolled, and the commercial states exult in the success of individuals over a government, inimical to commerce, and to whose measures they can no longer submit with patient acquiescence. The elections are begun; and I presume no vigilance or industry will be remitted to insure the success of the federal party.

I am, &c.

A. B.

P. S. Intelligence has reached Boston that a non intercourse law has actually passed, and that Martinique has surrendered to the British forces.

No. 9.

Boston, March 13, 1809.

SIR,

YOU will perceive from the accounts that will reach you in the public papers, both from Washington and Massachusetts, that the federalists of the northern states, have succeeded in making the Congress believe, that with such an opposition as they would make to the general government, a war must be confined to their own territory, and might be even too much for that government to sustain. The consequence is, that after all the parade and menaces with which the session commenced, it has been suffered to end without carrying into effect any of the plans of the administration, except the interdiction of commercial intercourse with England and France; an event that was anticipated in my former letters.

Under what new circumstances the Congress will meet in May, will depend on the state elections, and the changes that may in the mean time take place in Europe. With regard to Great Britain she can scarce mistake her true policy in relation to America. If peace be the first object, every act which can irritate the maritime states ought to be avoided; because the prevailing disposition of these will generally be sufficient to keep the government from hazarding any hostile measure. If a war between America and France be the grand desideratum, something more must be done: An indulgent and conciliatory policy must be adopted, which will leave the democrats without a pretext for hostilities; and Bonaparte, whose passions are too hot for delay, will probably compel this government to decide, which of the two great belligerents is to be its enemy. To bring about a separation of the states, under distinct and independent

governments, is an affair of more uncertainty; and however desirable, cannot be effected but by a series of acts and a long continued policy, tending to irritate the southern and conciliate the northern people. The former are an agricultural, the latter a commercial people. The mode of cherishing and depressing either is too obvious to require illustration. This I am aware is an object of much interest in Great Britain; as it would forever secure the integrity of his majesty's possessions on this continent; and make the two governments or whatever number the present confederacy might form into, as useful and as much subject to the influence of Great Britain as her colonies can be rendered. But it is an object only to be attained by slow and circumspect progression; and requires for its consummation more attention to the affairs which agitate and excite parties in this country, than Great Britain has yet bestowed upon it.

An unpopular war, that is a war produced by the hatred and prejudices of one party, but against the consent of the other party, can alone produce a sudden separation of any section of this country from the common head.

At all events it cannot be necessary to the preservation of peace, that Great Britain should make any great concession at the present moment; more especially as the more important changes that occur in Europe, might render it inconvenient for her to adhere to any stipulations in favor of neutral maritime nations

Although the non-intercourse law affords but a very partial relief to the people of this country, from the evils of that entire suspension of commerce to which they have reluctantly submitted for some time past, I lament the repeal of the embargo, because it was calculated to accelerate the progress of these states towards a revolution that

would have put an end to the only republic that remains to prove, that a government founded on political equality, can exist in a season of trial and difficulty, or is calculated to ensure either security or happiness to a people.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 10.

Boston, March 29, 1809.

SIR,

SINCE my letter of the 13th, nothing has occurred which I thought worthy of a communication.

The last weeks of this month, and the first of April, will be occupied in the election of Governors and other executive officers in the New England states.

The federal candidate in New Hampshire is already elected by a majority of about 1000 votes. His competitor was a man of large fortune, extensive connections and inoffensive manners. These account for the smallness of the majority.

In Connecticut no change is necessary, and none is to be apprehended.

In Rhode Island it is of no consequence of what party the Governor is a member; as he has neither will nor military power, being merely president of the council.

In Massachusetts it is certain that the federal candidate will succeed.

A few weeks will be sufficient in order to determine the relative strength of parties, and convince Mr. Madison that a war with Great Britain is not a measure upon which he dare venture. Since the

plan of an organized opposition to the projects of Mr. Jefferson was put into operation, the whole of the New England states have transferred their political power to his political enemies; and the reason that he has still so many adherents is, that those who consider the only true policy of America to consist in the cultivation of peace, have still great confidence, that nothing can force him (or his successor, who acts up to his system or rather is governed by it) to consent to war. They consider all the menaces and "dreadful note of preparation" to be a mere finesse, intended only to obtain concessions from England on cheap terms From every sort of evidence, I confess I am myself of the same opinion; and am fully persuaded that this farce, which has been acting at Washington, will terminate in a full proof of the imbecility and spiritless temper of the actors. A war attempted without the concurrence of both parties, and the general consent of the northern states, which constitute the bone and muscle of the country, must commence without hope, and end in disgrace. It should therefore be the peculiar care of Great Britain to foster divisions between the north and south; and by succeeding in this, she may carry into effect her own projects in Europe, with a total disregard of the resentments of the democrats of his country.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 11.

Boston, April 13, 1809.

SIR,

I SEND to Mr. R. a pamphlet, entitled "Suppressed Documents." The notes and comments were written by the gentleman who has writ-

ten the Analysis, which I sent by a former conveyance These works have greatly contributed to excite the fears of the men of talents and property; who now *prefer the chance of maintaining their party by open resistance, and a final separation*, to an alliance with France, and a war with England. So that, should the government unexpectedly, and contrary to all reasonable calculation, attempt to involve the country in a measure of that nature, I am convinced (now that the elections have all terminated favorably,) that none of the New England states would be a party in it But as I have repeatedly written, the general government does not seriously entertain any such desire or intention. Had the majority in the New England states continued to approve of the public measures, it is extremely probable that Great Britain would now have to choose between war and concession But the aspect of things in this respect, is changed; and a war would produce an incurable alienation of the eastern states, and bring the wole country in subordination to the interests of England, whose navy would prescribe and enforce the terms upon which the commercial states should carry, and the agricultural states export their surplus produce. All this is as well known to the democrats as to the other party; therefore, they will avoid a war, at least, until the whole nation is unanimous for it. Still, when we consider of what materials the government is formed, it is impossible to speak with any certainty of their measures The past administration, in every transaction, presents to the mind only a muddy commixture of folly, weakness and duplicity The spell by which the nations of Europe has been rendered inert and inefficient, when they attempted to shake it off, has stretched its shadows across the Atlantic, and made a majority of the people of these states alike blind to duty and to their true interests.

No 12.

Boston, April 26, 1809.

SIR,

SINCE my letter No. 11, I have had but little to communicate.

I have not yet been able to ascertain with sufficient accuracy. the relative strength of the two parties in the legislative bodies in New England.

In all of these states. however, governors have been elected out of the federal party; and even the southern papers indicate an unexpected augmentation of federal members in the next Congress.

The correspondence between Mr. Erskine and the Secretary of State, at Washington. you will have seen before this can reach you. It has given much satisfaction to the federal party here, because it promises an exemption from the evil they most feared, (a war with England) and justifies their partiality towards Great Britain; which they maintain, was founded upon a full conviction of her justice, and sincere disposition to preserve peace. Even the democrats affect to be satisfied with it; because, as they insist, it proves the efficacy of the restrictive system of Mr. Jefferson.

But the great benefit that will probably result from it, will be, that Bonaparte may be induced to force this country from her neutral position. Baffled in his attempts to exclude from the continent the manufactures of Great Britain, he will, most likely confiscate all American property in his dominions and dependencies, and declare war. Nothing could more than this contribute to give influence and stability to the British party The invidious occurrences of the rebellion would be forgotten in the resentment of the people against France; and they would soon be weaned from that attachment to her, which is founded on the aid

that was rendered to separate from the mother country While Great Britain waits for this natural, I might say necessary result of the negotiation, would it not be extremely inexpedient to conclude a treaty with the American government Every sort of evidence and experience prove, that the democrats consider their political ascendency in a great measure dependent on the hostile spirit that they can keep alive towards Great Britain; and recent events demonstrate that their conduct will be predicated upon that conviction; it is, therefore, not to be expected that they will meet with corresponding feelings, a sincere disposition on the part of England to adjust all matters in dispute. They are at heart mortified and disappointed, to find that Great Britain has been in advance of the French government, in taking advantage of the provisional clauses of the non intercourse law; and if they shew any spirit at the next session of Congress towards France, it will be only because they will find Bonaparte deaf to entreaty and insensible of past favors; or that they may think it safer to float with the tide of public feeling, which will set strongly against him, unless he keep pari passu with England, in a conciliatory policy.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 13.

Boston, May 5th, 1809.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH the recent changes that have occurred quiet all apprehension of war, and consequently *lessen all hope of a separation of the states,*

I think it necessary to transmit by the mail of each week, a sketch of passing events.

On local politics I have nothing to add; and as the parade that is made in the National Intelligencer, of the sincere disposition of Mr. Madison to preserve amicable relations with Great Britain, is, in my opinion, calculated to awaken vigilance and distrust, rather than inspire confidence, I shall, (having nothing more important to write about) take leave to examine his motives. I am not surprised at his conditional removal of the non-intercourse law with respect to Great Britain; because it was made incumbent on him by the act of Congress: But the observations made on his friendly disposition towards Great Britain, is a matter of no little astonishment. The whole tenor of his political life, directly, and unequivocally, contradicts them: His speech on the British treaty in '99: His attempt to pass a law for the confiscation of "British debts" and British property: His commercial resolutions, grounded apparently on an idea of making America useful as a colony to France: His conduct while Secretary of State; all, form an assemblage of probabilities, tending to convince me, at least, that he does not seriously desire a treaty, in which the rights and pretensions of Great Britain would be fairly recognized. It seems impossible that he should at once divest himself of his habitual animosity and that pride of opinion, which his present situation enables him to indulge; but above all, that he should deprive his friends and supporters of the benefit of those prejudices which have been carefully fostered in the minds of the common people towards England, and which have so materially contributed to invigorate and augment the democratic party. Whatever his real motives may be, it is in this stage of the affair, harmless enough to inquire into the cause of the

apparent change. He probably acts under a conviction, that in the present temper of the eastern states a war could not fail to produce a dissolution of the Union; or he may have profited by the mistakes of his predecessor, and is inclined to seize the present opportunity to prove to the world that he is determined to be the President of a nation, rather than the head of a faction; or he has probably gone thus far to remove the impression on the mind of many, that he was under the influence of France in order that he may, with a better grace, and on more tenable grounds, quarrel with Great Britain, in the progress of negotiating a treaty. Whatever his motives may be, I am very certain his party will not support him in any manly and generous policy. Weak men are sure to temporise when great events call upon them for decision, and are sluggish and inert at the moment when the worst of evils is inaction. This is the character of the democrats in the northern states. Of those of the south I know but little.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 14.

Boston, May 25th, 1809.

SIR,

MY last was under date of the 5th instant. The unexpected change that has taken place in the feelings of political men in this country, in consequence of Mr Madison's prompt acceptance of the friendly proposals of Great Britain, has caused a temporary suspension of the conflict of parties, and they both regard him with equal wonder and distrust. They all ascribe his conduct to various motives, but none believe him to be in earnest.

The state of New York has returned to the assembly a majority of federal members. All this proves, that an anti commercial faction cannot rule the northern states. Two months ago the state of New York was not ranked among the states that would adopt the policy of that of Massachusetts; and any favorable change was exceedingly problematical.

I beg leave to suggest, that in the present state of things in this country, my presence can contribute very little to the interests of Great Britain. If Mr. Erskine be sanctioned in all he has conceded, by his Majesty's ministers it is unnecessary for me, as indeed it would be unavailing, to make any attempt to carry into effect the original purposes of my mission. While I think it to be my duty to give this intimation to you, I beg it may be understood that I consider myself entirely at the disposal of his Majesty's government;

And am, &c.

A. B.

No. 15.

Montreal, June 12, 1809.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to inform your Excellency, that I received through Mr. Secretary Ryland your Excellency's commands to return to Canada; and after the delays incident to this season of the year in a journey from Boston, arrived here yesterday.

Your Excellency will have seen by the papers of the latest dates from the United States, that a formidable opposition is already organized in Congress to the late measures of Mr. Madison; and it is very evident, that if he be sincere in his profes-

sions of attachment to Great Britain, his party will abandon him. Sixty-one members have already voted against a resolution to approve of what he has done; and I have no doubt the rest of the democratic party will follow the example as soon as they recover from the astonishment into which his apparent defection has thrown them.

The present hopes of the federalists are founded on the probability of a war with France; but at all events this party is strong and well organized enough to prevent a war with England.

It would be now superfluous to trouble your Excellency with an account of the nature and extent of the arrangements made by the federal party, to resist any attempt of the government unfavorable to Great Britain They were such as do great credit to their ability and principles; and while a judicious policy is observed by Great Britain, secure her interests in America from decay. My fear of inducing a false security on the part of his Majesty's government in their efficiency, and eventual success, may have inclined me to refrain from doing them that justice in my former letters, which I willingly take the present occasion to express.

I trust your Excellency will ascribe the style and manner of my communications, and the frequent ambiguities introduced in them, as arising from the secrecy necessary to be observed, and my consciousness that you understood my meaning on the most delicate points, without risking a particular explanation.

I lament that no occasion commensurate to my wishes, has permitted me to prove how much I value the confidence of your Excellency, and the approbation already expressed by his Majesty's minister.

I have the honor to be,

I CERTIFY, that the foregoing letters are the same referred to in the letter of H. W. Ryland, Esq. dated May 1st, 1809, relating to the mission in which I was employed by Sir James Craig, by his letter of instructions, bearing date February 6th, 1809.

(Signed) JOHN HENRY.

No. V.

[COPY.]

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry.

Quebec, 1st May, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE news we have received this day from the States, will, I imagine, soon bring you back to us, and if you arrive at Montreal by the middle of June, I shall probably have the pleasure of meeting you there, as I am going up with Sir James and a large suite. The last letters received from you are to the 13th April; the whole are now transcribing for the purpose of being sent home, where *they cannot fail of doing you great credit, and I most certainly hope they may eventually contribute to your permanent advantage.* It is not necessary to repeat the assurance that no effort within the compass of my power shall be wanting to this end.

I am cruelly out of spirits at the idea of old England truckling to such a debased, and accursed government, as that of the United States.

I am greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken, in procuring the books, though, if Spain fails, I shall scarcely have heart to look into them. I can add no more now, but that I am, most heartily, and affectionately, yours,

H. W. R.

[COPY.]

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry.

May 4th, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOU must consider the short letter I wrote to you by the last post as altogether unofficial; but I am now to intimate to you, in a more formal manner, our hope of your speedy return; as the object of your journey seems, for the present, at least, to be at an end. We have London news, by the way of the river, up to the 6th March, which tallies to a day with what we have received by the way of the States. Heartily wishing you a safe and speedy journey back to us, I am, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely, yours,

H. W. R.

Have the goodness to bring my books with you, though I shall have little spirit to look into them unless you bring good news from Spain.

No. VI.

[COPY.]

Mr Henry's memorial to Lord Liverpool, enclosed in a letter to Mr. Peel, of the 13th June, with a copy of that letter

The undersigned most respectfully submits the following statement and memorial to the Earl of Liverpool;

LONG before, and during the administration of your lordship's predecessor, the undersigned bestowed much personal attention to the state of parties, and to the political measures in the United States of America * * *

* * * * * *

Soon after the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, when his Majesty's Governor General of British

America, had reason to believe that the two countries would be involved in a war, and had submitted to his Majesty's ministers the arrangements of the English party in the United States, for an efficient resistance to the general government, which would probably terminate in a separation of the northern states from the general confederacy, he applied to the undersigned to undertake a mission to Boston, where the whole concerns of the opposition were managed. The object of the mission was, to promote and encourage the federal party to resist the measures of the general government; to offer assurances of aid and support from his Majesty's government of Canada; and to open a communication between the leading men engaged in that opposition and the Governor General, upon such a footing as circumstances might suggest; and finally, to render the plans then in contemplation, subservient to the views of his Majesty's government.*

The undersigned undertook the mission, which lasted from the month of January to the month of June, inclusive, during which period * * * * * * * * * * those public acts and legislative resolutions of the assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were passed, which kept the general government of the United States in check, and deterred it from carrying into execution the measures of hostility with which Great Britain was menaced.

For his services on the occasions herein recited, and the loss of time, and expenses incurred, the undersigned neither sought nor received any compensation, but trusted to the known justice and liberality of his Majesty's government, for the reward of services which could not, he humbly con-

* Vide the despatches of Sir J. Craig in June, 1808.

ceives, be estimated in pounds, shillings and pence. On the patronage and support which was promised in the letter of Sir J. Craig, under date of the 26th January, 1809, (wherein he gives an assurance "that the former correspondence and political information transmitted by the undersigned, had met with the particular approbation of his Majesty's Secretary of State; and that his execution of the mission (proposed to be undertaken in that letter) would give him a claim not only on the governor general but on his Majesty's ministers,") the undersigned has relied; and now most respectfully claims, in whatever mode the Earl of Liverpool may be pleased to adopt.

The undersigned most respectfully takes this occasion to state, that Sir J. Craig promised him an employment in Canada, worth upwards of one thousand pounds a year, by his letter (herewith transmitted) under date, 13th September, 1809, which he has just learned has, in consequence of his absence, been given to another person The undersigned abstains from commenting on this transaction; and most respectfully suggests that the appointment of Judge Advocate General of the province of Lower Canada, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, or a consulate in the United States sine curia would be considered by him as a liberal discharge of any obligation that his Majesty's government may entertain in relation to his services.

Copy of a letter to Mr. Peel, enclosing the foregoing.

SIR,

I TAKE leave to enclose to you a memorial addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, and beg you will have the goodness either to examine the documents

in your office or those in my own possession, touching the extent and legitimacy of my claim.

Mr. Ryland, the secretary of Sir J Craig, is now in London, and from his official knowledge of the transactions and facts, alluded to in the memorial, can give any information required on that subject.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. H.

June 13th, 1811.

No. VII.

[COPY.]

Mr. Peel, Secretary to Lord Liverpool, to Mr. Henry.

Downing Street, 28th June, 1811.

SIR,

I HAVE not failed to lay before the Earl of Liverpool the memorial, together with its several enclosures, which was delivered to me a few days since by Gen Loft, at your desire.

His Lordship has directed me to acquaint you, that he has referred to the correspondence in this office of the year 1808, and finds two letters from Sir James Craig, dated 10th April and 5th May, transmitting the correspondence that has passed during your residence in the northern states of America, and expressing his confidence in your ability and judgment; but Lord Liverpool has not discovered any wish on the part of Sir James Craig, that your claims for compensation should be referred to this country, nor indeed is allusion made to any kind of arrangement or agreement, that had been made by that officer with you.

Under these circumstances, and had not Sir James Craig determined on his immediate return

to England, it would have been Lord Liverpool's wish to have referred your memorial to him, as being better enabled to appreciate the ability and success with which you executed a mission undertaken at his desire. Lord Liverpool will however transmit it to Sir James Craig's successor in the government, with an assurance, that from the recommendations he has received in your favor, and the opinion he has formed on your correspondence, he is convinced the public service will be benefitted by your active employment in a public situation.

Lord Liverpool will also feel himself bound to give the same assurance to the Marquis Wellesley, if there is any probability that it will advance the success of the application which you have made to his Lordship.

I am Sir,
Your most obt. humble servt.
(Signed) ROBERT PEEL.

J. Henry, Esquire,
27, Leicester Square.

No. VIII.

No other answer than a despatch to Sir George Prevost, and the letter marked B.

[COPY.]

Mr. Henry to Mr. Peel.

27, LEICESTER SQUARE.

London, 4th Sept. 1811.

SIR,

I HAVE just now learned the ultimate decision of my Lord Wellesley, relative to the appointment which I was desirous to obtain, and find that the subsisting relations between the two coun-

tries forbid the creating a new office in the United States, such as I was solicitous to obtain. In this state of things, I have not a moment to lose in returning to Canada, and have taken my passage in the last and only ship that sails for Quebec this season. As I have not time to enter de novo into explanations with the gentleman who is in your office; and as I have received assurances from you, in addition to the letter of my Lord Liverpool, of the 27th June, that "his Lordship would recommend me to the Governor of Canada, for the first vacant situation that I would accept," I beg the favor of you, to advise me how I am to get that recommendation, without loss of time.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

J. H.

[COPY]

B. No. IX.

Copy of the letter written by Lord Liverpool to Sir George Prevost, furnished to Mr. Henry by the under Secretary of State—original in the despatch to the Governor General.

Downing Street, 16*th Sept.* 1811.

SIR,

MR. HENRY, who will have the honor of delivering this letter, is the gentleman who addressed to me the memorial, a copy of which I herewith transmit, and to whom the accompanying letter from Mr. Peel was written by my direction.

In compliance with his request, I now fulfil the assurance which I have given, of stating to you my opinion of the ability and judgment which Mr. Henry has manifested on the occasions mentioned

in his memorial, and of the benefit the public service might derive from his active employment in any public situation, in which you should think proper to place him.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LIVERPOOL.

Sir George Prevost, Bart.

[COPY.]

No. X.

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry.

Tuesday evening, July 2d, 1811.

DEAR HENRY,

IT gives me real pleasure to find, that the apprehension I had formed, with respect to the fulfilment of your expections, is likely to prove erroneous. As every thing which passed relative to your mission was in writing, I think you will do well in submitting to Mr Peel all the original papers. I, myself, could give no other information relative to the subject, than what they contain, as you and I had no opportunity of any verbal communication respecting it, till after your mission terminated, and I never wrote you a letter in the Governor's name which had not previously been submitted to his correction.

The impression I had received of your character and abilities made me anxious to serve you, even before I had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, and the same desire has operated on me ever since; I am, therefore, entitled to hope, that any opinion which I may have given you as to your best mode of obtaining an employment under government, will be received with the same candor that gave rise to it. I think you will do

well to persevere as you propose. I have no doubt that every letter from you, which Sir James sent home, will be found in Mr. Peel's office, as the established practice there is, to bind the despatches and enclosures, yearly, up together.

Sincerely wishing you every success,
I am,
Most faithfully, yours,
(Signed) H. W. RYLAND.

B.

Lord Liverpool's despatch to Sir George Prevost, with its enclosures.

Downing Street, September 16*th*, 1811.

SIR,

MR. HENRY, who will have the honor of delivering this letter, is the gentleman who addressed to me the memorial, a copy of which I herewith transmit, and to whom the accompanying letter from Mr Peel was written by my direction.

In compliance with his request, I now fulfil the assurance which I have given of stating to you my opinion of the ability and judgment which Mr. Henry has manifested on the occasions mentioned in his memorial, and of the benefit the public service might derive from his active employment in any public situation in which you should think proper to place him.

I am, Sir,
Your most obdt. humble servt.
(Signed) LIVERPOOL.

Accompanying Lord Liverpool's despatch to Sir George Prevost.

Document No. 1.

Extract of the official letter of Sir James Craig, referred to in the Memorial.

Most secret and confidential.

Quebec, 26th January, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE extraordinary situation of things at this time in the neighboring states, has suggested to the Governor in Chief, the idea of employing you on a secret and confidential mission, provided an arrangement can be made to meet the important end in view, without throwing an absolute obstacle in the way of your professional pursuits.

The information and political observations heretofore received from you were transmitted by his Excellency to the Secretary of State, who has expressed his particular approbation of them, and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested would give you a claim not only on the Governor General, but on his Majesty's ministers, which would eventually contribute to your advantage. At present it is only necessary for me to add, that the Governor would furnish you with a cypher for carrying on your correspondence, and in case the leading party in any of the states wished to open a communication with this government, their views might be communicated through you.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HERMAN W. RYLAND.

To John Henry, Esq.

Accompanying Lord Liverpool's despatch to Sir George Prevost.

Document No. 2.

Extract from general instructions, referred to in the Memorial.

Quebec, 6th, February, 1809.

SIR,

AS you have so readily undertaken the service which I have suggested to you as likely to be attended with much benefit to the public interests, I am to request that with your earliest convenience you will proceed to Boston

The principal object that I recommend to your attention is, the endeavor to obtain the most accurate information of the state of affairs in that part of the Union, which, from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will, indeed, probably lead the other eastern states of America in the part that they may take at this important crisis. I shall not pretend to point out to you the mode by which you will be likely to obtain this important information. Your own judgment and the connexions which you have formed must be your guide.

In the general terms which I have made use of, to describe the objects which I recommend to your attention, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that I include the state of public opinion, both with regard to the internal politics and the probability of a war with England. The comparative strength and views of the two great parties into which the country is divided; and the views and designs of that which may ultimately prevail.

If the federalists of the eastern states should be successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not impossible that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about *a separation from the general union.* The earliest information on this subject, may be of great consequence to our government, as it may also that it should be informed how far they would in such an event look up to England for assistance and be disposed to enter into a connexion with us. These I leave to your judgment and discretion.

(Signed) J. H. CRAIG.

[The letter of instructions is long. The above are the principal points in it, except as to secrecy.]

Copy of Mr. Henry's memorial accompanying Lord Liverpool's despatch

To the right honorable the Earl of Liverpool, the undersigned most respectfully submits the following Memorial.

LONG before, and during the administration of your Lordship's predecessor, the undersigned bestowed much personal attention to the state of parties and political measures in the United States of America; and had an *opportunity * * *

met with his Lordship's approbation;* and when the hostile preparations in the United States suggested to Sir James Craig the necessity of making corresponding arrangements of precaution and defence, for the security of his Majesty's colonies, he applied to the undersigned to undertake a secret and confidential mission to the northern states, to

* * * * * * * *

the party already mentioned, to direct their operations, and transmit regular information of the same, and to endeavor to render their plans subservient to the interests of Great† Britain. The undersigned readily undertook the mission, and spent five months in the active and zealous discharge of the duties connected with it * * * *

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which deterred the general government from the purpose already mentioned, and from a coalition with France;§ while the information which he transmitted to Sir James Craig probably saved the trouble and expense of arming the Canadian militia. All this the undersigned performed without ever shewing his commission, or appearing as an authorised agent, from a thorough conviction, that a discovery of his mission would furnish the French party with the means of destroying the influence of the party adhering to Great Britain, in every quarter of America, and enable the general government to go to war upon popular and tenable ground.

In the application of Sir James Craig to the undersigned, to undertake the mission aforesaid, he

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* See document No. 1, herewith submitted.

† See documents No. 1 and 2, herewith submitted.

‡ See letter No. 1, of the series transmitted by Sir James Craig to the colonial department, under date Feb. 14, 1809.

§ See the remainder of the aforesaid series of letters.

says, "*The information and political observations received from you heretofore were all transmitted to the Secretary of State, who has expressed his particular approbation of them, and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested, would give you a claim not only on the Governor General, (of British America) but on his Majesty's ministers, &c.**

The undersigned being now in England, on his private affairs, and on the eve of departure for America, most humbly and respectfully submits his claims, under the stipulations aforesaid, to the Earl of Liverpool, in the confident expectation that his Lordship will treat them with that justice and liberality, which, upon investigation, they may be found to merit.

It may not be superfluous to add, that the undersigned has never received, in any shape whatever, any compensation or patronage for the services he has rendered. This fact, Mr. Ryland, the secretary of Sir James Craig, now in London, can vouch for; as well as for the truth of all the matters set forth in this memorial.

I have the honor, &c.

(Signed) J. HENRY.

27 Leicester Square, June 23d, 1811.

[COPY.]

Mr. Peel to Mr. Henry, accompanying Lord Liverpool's despatch to Sir George Prevost.

Downing Street, 28th June, 1811.

SIR,

I HAVE not failed to lay before the Earl of Liverpool the memorial, together with its several

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* See document No. 1, herewith submitted.

enclosures, which was delivered to me a few days since by General Loft, at your desire.

His Lordship has directed me to acquaint you, in reply, that he has referred to the correspondence in this office, of the year 1808, and finds two letters from Sir James Craig, dated 10th April and 5th May, transmitting the correspondence that had passed during your residence in the northern states of America, and expressing his confidence in your ability and judgment; but Lord Liverpool has not discovered any wish, on the part of Sir James Craig, that your claims for compensation should be referred to this country; nor, indeed, is allusion made to any kind of arrangement or agreement that had been made by that officer with you. Under these circumstances, and had not Sir James Craig determined on his immediate return to England, it would have been Lord Liverpool's wish to have referred your memorial to him, as being better enabled to appreciate the ability and success with which you executed a mission, undertaken at his desire; Lord Liverpool will, however, transmit it to Sir James Craig's successor in the government, with an assurance that, from the recommendations he has received in your favor, and the opinion he has formed on your correspondence, he is convinced the public service will be benefitted by your active employment in a public situation.

Lord Liverpool will also feel himself bound to give the same assurance to the Marquis Wellesley, if there is any probability that it will advance the success of the application which you have made to his Lordship.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT PEEL.

Accompanying Lord Liverpool's despatch to Sir George Prevost.

Extracts of letters of recal from the mission, in consequence of the arrangements entered into between Mr. Erskine and the American government.

Quebec, May, 1809.

"THE news we have received this day from the United States, will, I imagine, soon bring you back to us. The last letters received from you are to the 13th April. *The whole are now transcribing to be sent home, where they cannot fail of doing you great credit, and, eventually, contribute to your permanent advantage.*"

(Signed) H. W. RYLAND.

John Henry, Esq.

May 4, 1809.

I AM now formally to intimate to you our hope of your return; as the object of your mission seems, for the present at least, to be at an end.

Sincerely wishing you a safe and speedy journey back to us,

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. W. RYLAND, *Sec'ry.*

John Henry, Esq.

Q 013
H S

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